

# THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

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VOL. I.

## TERMS.

THE CRISIS will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1—and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to.

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## CONGRESSIONAL.

### DEBATE on the Boundary Question.

We turn aside from the motley field of political polemics for one moment, to lay before our readers a discussion in the Senate of the U. States, upon one of the most interesting questions which are at this time engaging the public attention. Fortunately, there is as yet little or no division of opinion upon it. Both parties in the Senate appear to harmonize upon it. Both are determined to support the honor and rights of our country. Both appear willing to do full justice to the discretion and the firm, yet conciliatory, spirit of the present Administration. How singularly does the liberal language of Mr. Clay contrast with the illiberal tone, exhibited by the Representative in this District, in the letter which he has recently addressed to his Constituents. He, forsooth, does not hesitate to express it as his opinion, "that the effort to create a 'war panic' in the country, is a stroke of policy on the part of the Administration and its friends, with the vain hope of withdrawing the public mind from their own internal and domestic grievances, which the great mass of the people have manifested a determination to redress, in the only regular and legitimate mode required by our Constitution, and of producing a commotion that might possibly terminate to their advantage; and which, as matters now stand, could not operate to their injury."

Tuesday, April 14, 1840.

### IN SENATE.

#### NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY.

Mr. BUCHANAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the several messages of the President of the United States, communicating to Congress, at its present session, certain official correspondence in relation to the question of the territory in dispute with Great Britain on our Northeastern frontier; and also certain resolutions of the Legislature of Maine on the same subject,

#### REPORT:

That they have had the same under consideration, and now deem it expedient to communicate to the Senate their views for not making, at the present moment, a general report upon the whole subject. They feel that they will best perform this duty, by placing clearly and distinctly before the Senate the existing state and condition of the pending negotiation between the two Governments.

The President of the United States in his annual message of December last, informed Congress that, "for the settlement of our Northeastern boundary, the proposition promised by Great Britain for a commission of exploration and survey, has been received, and a counter project, including also a provision for the certain and final adjustment of the limits in dispute, is now before the British Government for its consideration." The President has not thought it advisable to communicate this counter project to Congress; yet we have his assurance, on which the most confident reliance may be placed, that it is of such a character as will, should it be accepted, finally settle the question. This proposition was officially communicated to that Government during the last summer.

Mr. Fox, the British Minister, in his note of the 24th January last, doubtless with a perfect knowledge of the nature of the project which had been submitted by the American Government to that of Great Britain, assures Mr. Forsyth, "that he not only preserves the hope, but he entertains the firm belief, that if the duty of negotiating the boundary question be left in the hands of the two National Governments, to whom alone of right it belongs, the difficulty of conducting the negotiation to an amicable issue will not be found so great as has been by many persons apprehended."

And in his subsequent note of March 13, 1840, he states that he has been instructed to declare, "that her Majesty's Government are only waiting for the detailed report of the British commissioners recently employed to survey the disputed territory, which report, it was believed, would be completed and delivered to her Majesty's Government by the end of the present month, (March,) in order to transmit to the Government of the United States a reply to their last proposal upon the subject of the boundary negotiation." Thus we may reasonably expect that this reply will be received by the President during the present month, (of April,) or early in May.

Whilst such is the condition of the principal negotiation, the committee have deemed it inexpedient, at this time, to report upon the subordinate though important question in relation to the temporary occupation of the disputed territory. They trust that the answer of the British Government may be of such a character as to render a report upon this latter subject unnecessary. In any event, they have every reason to believe that the state of suspense will be but of brief duration.

The committee, ever since this embarrassing and exciting question has been first presented for their consideration, have been anxious that the Government of the United States should constantly preserve itself in the right; and hitherto the desire has been fully accomplished. The territorial rights of Maine have been uniformly asserted, and a firm determination to maintain them has been invariably evinced; though this has been done in an amicable spirit. So far as the committee can exercise any influence over the subject, they are resolved, that if war should be the result, which they confidently hope may not be the case, this war shall be rendered inevitable, by the conduct of the British Government. They have believed this to be the surest mode of uniting every American heart and every American arm in defence of the just rights of the country.

It is but justice to remark, that the Executive branch of the Government has, from the beginning, been uniformly guided by the same spirit, and has thus far pursued a firm, consistent, and prudent course, throughout the whole negotiation with Great Britain.

Whilst the committee can perceive no adequate cause at the present moment, for anticipating hostilities between the two countries, they would not be understood as expressing the opinion that the country should not be prepared to meet any emergency. The question of peace or war may, in a great degree, depend upon the answer of the British Government now speedily expected.

Mr. WRIGHT called for the reading of the report, and it was read accordingly; after which

Mr. W. observed that in calling for the reading of the report, his only object was to hear the views of the committee, and to give himself an opportunity to move for the printing of an extra number of copies. He would make that motion for the reason, that within the last few weeks, he believed he might say within the last two weeks, his correspondents, a great many of whom were on the frontiers, seemed to entertain alarming apprehensions of immediate hostilities between this country and England. From what cause he knew not. He had seen nothing himself to authorize such apprehensions, and he was gratified to find that the committee on Foreign Relations entertained the same opinion.

Mr. W. then moved for the printing of ten thousand extra copies of the report.

Mr. BUCHANAN observed that the committee had no intention of moving the printing of an extra number of copies of this report, though certainly, as a member of it, he should not oppose the motion. The report was very short, and from the interest generally taken in the subject, it might, and probably would, be copied into all the country papers. He did not believe that it would occupy more than one column in the ordinary sized newspapers, and therefore there was little doubt but it would be extensively circulated. Still, if the Senator from New York [Mr. Wright] wished an extra number printed, he should not oppose it. He had only made these suggestions for the information of the gentleman himself, and would be content with any decision that might be made.

Mr. CLAY of Kentucky concurred entirely in what had been said by the chairman of the committee, and thought the Senator from New York would hardly deem it necessary to go to the expense of printing ten thou-

sand copies of a document, which, as the chairman said, was so short that it could be copied into all the papers of the country. He thought that it would at once take a general circulation, without being sent out in pamphlet form; and he hoped that if the Senator insisted on the printing, that he would modify his motion so as to print a smaller number.

Mr. CLAY of Ala. recollected that we had had the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the British Minister, on several occasions communicated to the Senate during the present session, and on each occasion ten thousand copies were printed. At all events this was a subject of exciting interest from one end of the Union to the other. If the document was so very small, as alleged by the chairman, it would cost the Government very little to print the extra number of copies.

Mr. WRIGHT observed that his residence was on the frontier, where the people felt a great anxiety on the subject. There was no doubt that the military preparations on the British frontiers had been very briskly carried on during the winter and spring; but his own belief was that these preparations related entirely to the internal condition of the provinces which furnished sufficient grounds for them. In addition to the late disturbances there, it was known that the British Government was about to attempt a most important change in the government of their colonies on our borders, and this might reasonably be supposed to furnish another reason for the military preparations they have been making. But with the excitement existing on our frontiers, every change on the part of our neighbors was watched by our citizens with an intense interest, which we here at a distance cannot feel, and it was with a desire to allay this excitement that he wished the report to be sent out. He would not persist in the motion if it should be against the pleasure of the Senate, and he was willing to modify it so as to meet the views of all. But would, at the same time, observe that, if there had been a document which the public would be more anxious to see than any other—if there was one which would be likely to allay the excitement existing on the subject, it was this. He knew that it was very short, and that the cost of printing could not be very great: he knew, too, that notwithstanding the immense circulation of the newspapers of the country, there were many, very many, whom these newspapers did not reach, and that the circulation of a document of this kind, coming immediately from the Senate, would have effect in allaying the apprehensions of our citizens, which a circulation through the newspapers would not.

Mr. CLAY of Alabama rose to say, on the information of the Secretary, that ten thousand copies of all the documents that had been communicated on this subject, during the present session, had been printed.

Mr. RUGGLES said he did not rise to object to the printing of the extra number proposed, nor indeed to advocate the printing of so large a number. It was a very short report, and would be read in the newspapers by every citizen of Maine, and perhaps by every citizen of the country, long before the extra number would be likely to be furnished to the Senate. He had no wish to increase our expenditures for printing, yet he should not oppose any extra number gentlemen thought proper to recommend.

He said he certainly felt less anxiety for printing a large number, for the belief he entertained that the report might have the effect of disappointing many citizens of the State, he, in part, represented, in affording them some possible apprehension that the spirit manifested in the late correspondence between the two Governments, is felt less strongly now than at the time that correspondence took place. He was well aware that there was a portion of the people whose minds were fully prepared for the most prompt and energetic measures. Another portion doubtless contemplated a resort to war with serious apprehension. It was not to be questioned that the expectations, if not the hopes, of the former class would be repressed and disappointed; and that the latter would as certainly derive encouragement to their desire for the long continuance of peace. He observed that Maine felt strongly and deeply on this subject. She had entertained hopes that this controversy was now about to be brought to a close. She is expecting strong, decisive and energetic action on the part of this Government. He did not mean to be understood as intimating that the tone and spirit of the report of the committee afforded any sufficient evidence that she would be disappointed in the character of the measures she has been anticipating. Nevertheless, the report, he



believed, would by many be looked upon as a *peace document*, and as calculated to relieve the country from all apprehension of a rupture with Great Britain, at least for some time to come. The honorable Senator from New York [Mr. Wright] appeared to have so understood its purport and effect, and assigned that as a reason for wishing a large number of the report printed. He would say again that he should not oppose the printing of any number gentlemen wished; but it would be recollected that the Senate had ordered the printing of ten thousand extra copies of a correspondence on this subject, early in March, which were not furnished to the Senate for several weeks afterwards; and not till after the recent correspondence on the same subject, was communicated to the Senate. Should there be as much delay on this occasion, the extra copies would be of but little use to the Senate or to the public.

Mr. BUCHANAN observed, that the remarks of the Senator from Maine (Mr. Ruggles) seemed to render it necessary that he should say a very few words on the subject before the Senate. Those who had attended to the reading of the report, would perceive that, throughout, it was intended for the sole purpose of presenting to the Senate the reasons why the committee did not think it necessary, at this time, to make a detailed report on the whole correspondence. That was the single object of the report. If it should become necessary to make a report in regard to the temporary occupation of the disputed territory, the committee would not shrink from their duty. They were prepared to perform it to the Senate and to the country. But at this moment, when we have the solemn assurance of the British Minister that in a very short time we should have an answer from his Government to the counter project presented by our Government; and when he not only expresses the hope, but "entertains the firm belief," that the "difficulty of conducting the negotiation to an amicable issue will not be found so great as has been by many persons apprehended," it is wonderful that the Senator from Maine should denounce this report, made under such circumstances, in such strong language. The report, Mr. B. continued, re-asserted the rights of Maine in the most solemn manner; and it was extraordinary that any citizen of Maine should expect a detailed report, or one different from that which had been made, unless, indeed, he could believe that the committee ought to have assumed a hostile position, and gone into all the correspondence that had taken place, and into the subject of the preparations that had been made by the British Government, in the very face of the assurance that we should have an answer to our proposition in the course of this month or the next; which, judging from the language of the British Minister, we had reason to believe would prove satisfactory. The committee thought it was their duty to place before the Senate the precise state of the negotiation between the two countries; and what that was might be summed up in twenty words. A proposition for an exploration and survey of the disputed territory had been made by the British Government; and this Government not deeming it satisfactory, because it did not embrace a provision for the final settlement of the question, had sent to the British Government a counter project, to which no answer has yet been received. This counter project was communicated to the British Government during the last summer, and the British Minister here, several months afterwards, with a perfect knowledge of its character, assures us that a speedy answer will be given to it, and expresses his confident belief that if this controversy is left to the two national Governments, it does not present the difficulties which had been by many persons apprehended. He also declares that the commissioners who had been sent out from England to make a survey of the disputed territory, were preparing their report—that this report would be ready within the month of March—and that then his Government would transmit an answer to the proposition we had submitted to them. Now, in this state of the case, unless you suppose the British Government to be entirely faithless, which he had no reason to believe, we may reasonably expect, in this or the coming month, to receive an answer that may enable us to settle this question in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty of 1783, and in accordance with the just rights of Maine. Under such circumstances, how could it be expected that the committee would make a belligerent report? Mr. B. differed with the Senator from Maine in the opinion that the people of his State either would or could so construe this report, as to imagine that the committee or the Senate were prepared to surrender any portion of their rights. The past conduct of this body should shield them from such a suspicion, and their future conduct, should it become necessary, would show that they were as ready now as they have been in former times, to sustain the honor of the nation as well as the rights of a sovereign member of the Confederacy.—From the correspondence which had taken place between the two Governments, the committee hoped that this might never become necessary. Sufficient for the day was the evil thereof; and the committee though the subject was already sufficiently embarrassing in it

self, without unnecessarily adding to it other causes of irritation.

Mr. ALLEN wished to ask of the Senator from Maine one or two questions. He wished to know, if the gentleman expected the committee to report to the Senate an opinion in favor of war, or what kind of report he expected from the committee in the present state of the negotiations between the two countries? When the gentleman should state what kind of report he expected the committee to make, he would then thank him to state what kind of a report he himself would make, and then the people might judge of the correctness of his views on this subject. Whilst up, Mr. Allen said he would make one or two additional remarks. The only question which the Committee on Foreign Relations had to decide, (and he believed, that since he had been here, he had given as much evidence of a devotion to the interest of the State of Maine, as any other Senator,) the only question before the committee was not whether they would recommend measures leading to war, but whether they would recommend any thing at all—whether they should not remain silent till the expected answer to our proposition to the British Government should be received. That was the only question before the committee. Under these circumstances, the committee concluded, after full reflection, that it would be better, in order to avoid any misunderstanding in the country—in order to avoid the people putting any false construction on the late correspondence, to make a report to explain not what was the course it was our duty to pursue at the present moment, but the reasons why we should suspend any action till the British Government should return an answer to the counter project we had made to them. The committee made this report in pursuance of that opinion, to explain why they did not, at this time, go into a thorough investigation of the subject, and propose some definite action in regard to it; and the reasons which governed them were, that the British Minister here had declared that he would very soon be able to present to this Government an answer to the proposition which had been submitted to him. Mr. A. deemed it proper to make these few remarks, because the State from which he came, ever patriotic, had passed resolutions in relation to this subject, and he knew that the people of that State would stand ready, to the last man, and to the last dollar of their resources, to see that the rights of the whole country were maintained at all hazards. He would now ask the Senator from Maine to state what kind of a report this committee ought, in his opinion, to have made—what kind of proposition ought to have been submitted to the nation in the present state of the negotiations between the two countries.

Mr. RUGGLES said he had been referred to as denouncing the report of the committee. He had not intended to be so understood. He had spoken of the impression he believed it would make on different classes in the community. He had expressed the opinion that those who were looking for prompt and energetic measures—who were, in fact, looking with impatience for an immediate rupture between the two countries, would have these hopes repressed; and that others, who felt alarmed at the tone of the correspondence lately communicated to the Senate, would be relieved from their apprehensions; and he repeated that the Senator from New York, who had just taken his seat, appeared to entertain the same opinion of the effect the report was calculated to have on the people of the frontier of that State, who were excited with the prospects of an immediate declaration of war.

In answer to the question put to him by the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Allen,) whether he would have the committee make a report in favor of an immediate declaration of war, he would say that he had no such wish, nor had he intimated any such desire. In answer to the Senator's further inquiry what sort of a report he would have the committee make, he would not undertake to dictate to the intelligent and patriotic Committee on Foreign Relations, what sort of a report they should make on this or any other subject. He would not undertake to say that they ought to make any other report than they had made, if they were to make any report at all at this time. He believed that nothing new had transpired to render any report necessary at this particular time. The report communicated no new facts. The Senate well knew, and the country well knew, that the President had caused to be made to the British Government a counter proposition, and that we were expecting a response to that proposition in all this month, or early in the next. This information had been communicated by the President, and was contained in the last correspondence, which was before the country. He understood, that the further consideration of the Maine question was postponed till that response should be received. A report from the committee on Foreign Relations had not been looked for till it should appear whether we have, at the time indicated, the promised reply of the British Government. He had acquiesced in that, and had expressed no wish for a report at this time, in favor of ultra measures.—So far from that, he said he did not believe, nor had he at any time believed, that war with Great Britain would

necessarily grow out of this controversy. He founded his opinion partly on the fact, that on her part she had no cause for war. Her claim to the disputed territory was wholly without foundation, and would not afford her the slightest justification for pursuing it to that extremity. She would not dare go to war with this country, without some better cause for it. She had too much respect for the opinion of mankind to enter into such a contest with us without some better pretence than the groundless claim she has set up.

But, sir, said Mr. R., can Great Britain be greatly blamed for pushing her claims, as baseless as they are, whilst she has heretofore seen so little to create a belief that this Government would resist them to the last extremity? He remembered to have urged at the last, and at previous sessions, the fortification of some exposed points on the maritime frontier of Maine. He proposed it as an amendment to an appropriation bill then before the Senate, and had the silent vote, in support of it, of the chairman on Military Affairs; but it was voted down by a large majority. He had not forgotten it; and could not forget the exposed condition of the whole country. His opinion that war would not ensue, was necessarily subject to the condition, that preparation should be immediately made to meet any possible contingency.

We could never expect a submission to our rights till we give substantial indications of a determination to vindicate them. We must prepare for war to avoid war. Sir, said Mr. R., without finding any fault with the report, he would say that he had much rather have seen a report from the Committee on Military Affairs, and another from the Committee on Naval Affairs, affording on the part of this Government an earnest of its determination to vindicate the rights of Maine and the honor of the nation.

Mr. CLAY of Kentucky begged leave to say a few words on the subject, not so much in reference to the particular question of printing the report, as on the general and more important one involving the relations between this country and Great Britain. He was happy to hear the Senator from Maine (Mr. Ruggles) say he was not for war, though he did remark when he first rose, that this report would be unsatisfactory to a portion of the people of his State who were for war. He would say, that if there was any party in this country for war with Great Britain, it was a criminal party.—There was no sufficient cause for war; and he took occasion to say, that so far as he was informed, the opinions both of the Administration party, and of the party with which he acted, were, that war was to be avoided so long as it could be done without compromising the rights and honor of the nation. The Senate had solemnly expressed the opinion, that the question of right was with us, and all parties, every individual of those parties, so far as their views had been expressed, seemed determined to obtain for Maine, by some of those modes by which national rights are asserted, a full and absolute possession of all the territory within her rightful limits. But he must say that there were two modes of arriving at this result. One was by negotiation, and the other was by war; and these questions were to be decided by the united voice of the whole country, and by the Executive branch of the Government, as the case may be, and not to be decided by the voice of one single member of the Confederacy. If the honor of the country is assailed, the councils of the whole country must determine as to the manner and time of vindicating it. He would take occasion to say for the benefit of the Senator from Maine, and the whole people of Maine, that whilst he believed them to be as valorous and as enlightened as any people in the Union, he was not inclined to confide in their judgment as to declaring war, and the period at which this last resort may become necessary. If Maine expects the Government of this country to secure her rights, she must confide to the Government of this country the whole agency in settling the controversy. If it is to be done by negotiation, it must be left to the Executive and his constitutional advisers. If it is to be by war, it should be left to that department of the Government to which the power of declaring war is confided by the Constitution. In saying all this, he meant nothing in condemnation of the state of feeling that had been evinced by the people of Maine. Justice was with her; and he sympathized with her natural feelings on this subject. Her claims had unfortunately too long been delayed; but, notwithstanding that, he said that this Government alone should conduct the negotiation; and, if war became necessary, decide upon the time and manner of commencing it.—He could not, however, believe that this last resort would be necessary. There were two securities which we had for the continuance of peace. The first security was, that Great Britain, enlightened as her councils were, must perceive, what we know, that the right was with us; that she had no claim; and after being satisfied with these facts, upon an examination of the necessary information, will ultimately concede the right to us. But let me suppose, continued Mr. C., that she does not.—Let me suppose that, after investigation, she comes to the clear conviction to which we have arrived, that the right is with her; that the territory in dispute, accord-



ing to the treaty of 1783, is within her limits: What, then, will be the case presented to the world? Two enlightened nations coming to different conclusions on the same testimony, and unable to agree. What, then, are to be the consequences? Is war, that calamity which every lover of humanity must deprecate, the only alternative? No, Sir. There is another: there is a subsisting treaty stipulation contained in the treaty of Ghent, by which this question is to be left to the decision of an impartial tribunal, in the event that the two countries cannot settle it themselves. I say there is a treaty stipulation still subsisting; and how do I make it out? It may be alleged that the matter having been once committed to the umpirage of a third party, and that party having given an award, the stipulation in the treaty was fulfilled, and it was no longer in force. Not so. There was an attempt at arbitration, through the instrumentality of the King of Holland; but it was an abortion—a failure—the King did not settle the question; both parties acknowledged that he did not, and the treaty remains in full force, binding the parties to refer this question, if unable to settle it amicably themselves, to an impartial tribunal. But, putting the treaty out of the question, suppose there was no such stipulation, and that the two parties having brought their minds to the conclusion that the right was with each, were determined to persist in it. Sooner than resort to war, with all its calamities, both parties should agree to arbitration; and I say that England, if she will not concede the right to us, must yield the point at issue to arbitration. Though this course may be attended with delay—though Maine may not arrive at the possession of her territory as soon as she wishes, yet she had infinitely better wait the movements of two great nations, than that they should be involved in war. When we come to deciding on the question of war, all other means of settling the controversy having failed, that question is to be decided by the united wisdom of all, in reference to the condition of the whole country, in reference to the other interests of Maine besides the interest in question, and in reference to the probable issue of the controversy.

In relation to the military preparations of the British in the Canadas, of which the Senator spoke, Mr. C. said, they gave him no cause for alarm. England was the weaker power—she was preparing against invasion from us; but did we apprehend invasion from the Canadas? He did not agree with the Senator that our state of preparation was so defective; for, with the exception of one or two points on the Atlantic, where some additional defence was wanted, no preparation was necessary. When gentlemen talked of our want of preparation, he did not agree with them. What! with fifteen or sixteen millions of free people, with their unquestioned valor, their love of country, combined with their means of transportation, and their warlike resources to say that the country is unprepared! We are, said Mr. C., ten thousand times better prepared for war to-morrow with Great Britain—though not so much so in all respects, as he could wish—we are infinitely better prepared than we were at a former period—on the ocean, as on the land—on the lakes as well as the bays; and then we came out of the contest with honor. The construction of the great New York canal, our railroads, our population pressing up against the boundary line—all these are advantages which we did not possess in the last war. No preparation! Sir, we have the best preparations that ever a country boasted of: we have sixteen millions of freemen, with stout arms and bold hearts, who stand ready to vindicate the rights of their country. As to the preparations of England in the Canadas, let her go on with them—let her bring her troops over, whether to quell insurrections among her own people or to guard against invasion from our side of the line—that would never, for a moment, give him the slightest uneasiness. Whenever the honor of the country, by an injury inflicted on a single member of it, may require us to resort to a war, though the beginning of it may be attended with a few disasters, he had no apprehension but, after a few months, we may be able to impress on England the temerity of forcing us into this alternative. He declared his belief that it was the sincere desire of the Administration party to preserve the peace of the country, and it had been a matter of serious inquiry with him to ascertain their views. If there was a criminal party in this country, who, for their own sinister views, desired a war, he did not believe that the Administration party gave them the slightest countenance. This he must say as an act of justice. The committee were unanimous in adopting this report. What did it tell you? Why, that the negotiations were going on, and were in the hands of those constitutionally entrusted with it; and that within a reasonable period, we might expect an answer to our last proposition, till when it did not become us to take any further action on the subject. Mr. C. after alluding to the various causes which might reasonably be supposed to delay the action of the British Ministry, concluded by saying that his only object in rising, was to defend the report, and not to say any thing on the question of printing. He did not think the printing of the

extra copies necessary, as the report would be circulated through the newspapers.

Mr. RUGGLES rose but to say a word in explanation. The honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] had expressed satisfaction that he (Mr. R.) had said he was not for war. He could not let the remark pass without a little qualification. He was for peace, if peace could be preserved consistently with the rights and honor of the country. If not, then he was ready for the alternative. He said he would add a word in respect to submitting the matter in controversy to arbitration. He did not mean to discuss, at this time, the right of this Government to refer the question to an arbiter without the assent of Maine, and against her protestation; but he would remind the Senator that Maine had, over and over again, by her Legislature, declared her opinion that the Federal Government had not the constitutional power, and ought not to jeopard her rights by a submission of them to arbitrators without her assent. That opinion had been so strongly entertained by Maine, that he felt, in some sort, instructed upon that point, and could not yield it. But he saw no occasion for discussing that question now. He referred to writers on the laws of nations who maintained fully that no nation could be called upon to submit to the umpirage of others, a clear and indubitable right, which she was justified in claiming as such. But he would not pursue the subject.

Mr. CLAY of Kentucky, in reply, said, that he did not express the opinion that this Government had claimed the right to refer this question to arbitration; but he expressed, as his unqualified opinion, that this Government had the undoubted right to refer the question to arbitration, without consulting Maine.

The question was then taken, and the motion to print ten thousand extra copies of the report was agreed to.

## POLITICS.

### THE OSWEGO CORRESPONDENCE AND HARRISON PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Lynchburg Virginian treats the Oswego Correspondence as a hoax and a forgery. ("Particulars," says he, "in our next.") It is somewhat problematical whether its readers will hear of more particulars. The Philadelphia Gazette denies, there is "such a self-constituted body of three," and says, if there be such a committee, "they are an aggregation of impudent and impolitic asses."—What will John C. Wright & Co. say to this compliment?

And in what predicament does the Whig nominee now avowedly stand? How will he stand, if he should be elected President? "He will, then, too, be put under another commission, whether of IDIOCY, LUXURY or of 'DURANCE VILE,' we leave you, from the past and the present, to infer for yourselves. In this state of surveillance, he is to pay no regard, except by permission, to enquiries from the people or to their wishes, however strongly expressed, nor, indeed, his own inclinations or opinions, but, in every respect, is to remain the poor automaton of the keepers who shall have made him. And who, we should like to understand, are these keepers to be?—This is, indeed, fellow-citizens, an important enquiry. Can there be any proof more overwhelming than that developed in these unheard-of transactions; any concession more unequivocal or humiliating of utter unfitness of this man for a station which calls for the clearest interest, the purest and best tried Republicanism? But here we have proposed for that station, a man, of whom it is affirmed by his friends and guardians, that he shall not, or will not, answer a plain common enquiry. Or can that be a greater extreme of arrogance, a pretension more at war with the very elements of Representative Democracy, than the exemption from enquiry here claimed, or indeed, than any qualification of the right of enquiry as to any one who seeks the confidence and support of the People? But you, fellow-citizens, we are well assured, will not tolerate for one instant such folly or such arrogance."

Since writing the above, we have received the following handbill from the Office of the Oswego Palladium, of the 16th inst. It removes every possible doubt of the authenticity of the Oswego Correspondence. It does more—It dissipates all the calumny which has been propagated by the Madisonian and other congenial prints, about the respectability of Gen. H.'s Correspondents. It was asserted, that M. Hotchkiss was nothing but the keeper of a Nine Pin Alley, and with much other such humbuggery. Now, see the facts—The very effort which has been made to discredit the whole Correspondence, first as a forgery, and then as emanating from the lowest source, shows us how anxious the Whigs are to break the force of a Correspondence, which places the Hero of Tippecanoe in a point of view, so little creditable to the Candidate of a great party—so little auspicious to the good and glory of the country, should he be elected President of the U. S.

(From the Oswego Palladium, of April 16.)

### THE HARRISON CORRESPONDENCE.

The extraordinary letter of Gen. Harrison's keepers, which we published in our paper of the 15th of March last, has excited the pity, we may say the contempt of

honorable men of all parties. It was generally known in our village at the time it was sent, that a letter had been addressed to Gen. Harrison by the Union Association, asking his opinions upon certain matters—it having been read in the office of a magistrate to several gentlemen of both political parties before it was put into the post office. The answer of the committee has also been shown to gentlemen here of both political parties, and in this place its authenticity has not been questioned. We notice, however, that in some places, for effect, a partial denial has been made. In addition, therefore, to our own assurances of its genuineness, we publish the following affidavits and certificates, which put the matter beyond cavil.

State of New York, } ss.

Oswego county, }

John W. Turner, of Oswego, being duly sworn, deposes and says, that on the 1st day of February last, a letter signed by Miles Hotchkiss, on behalf of the Union Association of Oswego, and bearing date January 31, 1840, a copy of which was published in the Oswego Palladium of March 18, 1840, which letter contained certain inquiries in relation to the political opinions of Gen. Harrison, was superscribed by this deponent as follows: "Gen. William H. Harrison, North Bend, Ohio," and was sent by this deponent to the post office in this village on the said first day of February last; and on or about the 13th day of March last, he saw a letter purporting to be a reply to the letter above named, which was post-marked at Cincinnati, Ohio, and signed by David Gwynne, J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, and attested by H. E. Spencer, Cor. Sec'y; a copy of which letter was also published in the Oswego Palladium of March 18th, 1840.

And this deponent further says, that before the letter first above named was sent to the Post Office, he read the same aloud in the office of J. C. Hugunin, Esq., Justice of the peace in this village, in the presence of several gentlemen of both political parties, and that the fact of said letter having been sent to Gen. Harrison was a matter of public notoriety in this village.

J. W. TURNER.

Subscribed and sworn April 16th, 1840, before me.

D. HERRICK, J. P.

State of New York, } ss.

Oswego County, }

Miles Hotchkiss, of Oswego, being duly sworn, deposes and says that on the 13th day of March last he took from the post office in the village of Oswego, a letter directed to him, and signed by David Gwynne, J. C. Wright and O. M. Spencer, and attested by H. E. Spencer, Cor. Sec., bearing date February 29, 1840, and post marked "Cincinnati, (O.) March 3," that a correct copy thereof was published in the Oswego Palladium of March 18, 1840, and that he has no doubt of the genuineness of the said letter. And this deponent further says, that he is the Corresponding Secretary of the Union Association of Oswego; and that the letter to which the letter above named purports to be a reply, was written agreeably to an order of the said Association.

MILES HOTCHKISS.

Subscribed and sworn April 16, 1840, before me.

D. HERRICK, J. P.

I hereby certify that I am the Postmaster in the village of Oswego, in the State of New York, and that I recollect of delivering a letter to Mr. Miles Hotchkiss, which was postmarked at Cincinnati, Ohio; that this letter came to the post office in this place by mail, and but a few days previous to the publication of the correspondence alluded to in the above affidavits; that I have since seen a letter, which, from some peculiarities in the superscription, I believe to be the one delivered by me to Mr. Hotchkiss as above stated, and that I have since read the contents of that letter, and that a correct copy thereof was published in the Oswego Palladium of the 18th of March last.

And I further certify that some weeks previous to the reception of the letter above named, a letter was placed in the post office in this village, directed to "Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, North Bend, Ohio," and that this letter was duly forwarded, as directed, in the regular course of the mail.

JOHN H. LORD.

I have been shown an original letter in manuscript dated February 29, 1840, post-marked Cincinnati, Ohio, March 3, and purporting to be signed by H. E. Spencer, corresponding Secretary, and David Gwynne, J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, committee, and addressed to Miles Hotchkiss, Esq., of Oswego, N. York, a copy of which was published in the Oswego Palladium of March 18. The body of the letter is in the hand writing of H. E. Spencer, the Secretary, and the names of the committee in three different hands. During the session of 1836-8, and 1838-9, the Hon. John C. Wright was a member of Congress from the State of Ohio, and I represented a district in the State of New York. In that situation I had full opportunity to become acquainted with his hand writing and I am fully confident the signature to the above described letter, is his and genuine.

JOHN G. STOWER.

Oswego, April 16, 1840.



The certificate below signed by several of our most respectable citizens, among whom are two gentlemen who have represented this district in Congress—Mr. Hart and Mr. Hawley, who have been members of the Assembly of this State—Mr. Prall, the President of our village, &c. will show the public that the Whigs have slandered Mr. Hotchkiss, and the other members of the Association most outrageously.

We the undersigned, inhabitants of the village of Oswego, certify that we have been acquainted with Miles Hotchkiss and J. W. Turner of this village, for several years past, and we have no hesitation in saying that they are men of respectability and integrity, in whose statements implicit reliance may be placed.

Oswego, April 16, 1840.

JOEL TURRILL,  
J. N. BONESTEEL,  
L. BABCOCK,  
A. P. GRANT,  
ORRIS HART,  
SAMUEL HAWLEY,  
A. A. PRALL.

ABOLITION PETITIONS.  
*Letter of the Vice President to Lewis Tappan, of New York, upon declining to present to the Senate an Abolition Petition signed by 140 women.*

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1840.

Sir: Your letter of the 7th instant was duly received, enclosing a petition to Congress, signed by 140 women of the city and county of New York, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in those Territories of the United States where they exist, and to admit no new slave State into the Union, requesting me to lay the same before the Senate. I have also received your letter of the 17th instant, requesting me to inform you when I would present the petition. Having declined to present the petition, it is, perhaps, due to the fair petitioners, and to you, their organ, as well as to myself, to state some of the reasons which dictate my course. The constitutional right of petition is contained in the first article of amendments, as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Congress has never made a law abridging this right; but the people assembled at pleasure, and petition at pleasure, for a redress of grievances. Of course, this part of the Constitution has not been violated; and if it did not exist, Congress could not, constitutionally, have passed such a law, because no such power is delegated to Congress. This right, reserved to the people, does not devolve upon the presiding officer of the Senate the obligation of presenting petitions of every conceivable description.

There are considerations of a moral and political, as well as of a constitutional nature, which would not permit me to present petitions, of a character evidently hostile to the Union; and destructive of the principles on which it is founded. The patriots of the Revolution made great sacrifices of blood and treasure to establish and confirm the doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Each State was then an independent sovereignty; and to form a perpetual Confederacy for the safety and benefit of the whole, embodying the great doctrines of the Declaration, a compromise of interest and feeling was necessary. That compromise was made; and the principle which your fair petitioners are now agitating, was settled. The right of regulating and abolishing slavery was preserved to the States, and Congress have no more right to destroy slavery in Virginia and Maryland than they have to establish slavery in New York or New England. The right of petition for these objects is reciprocal; and the obligation of the presiding officer to present a petition to the Senate, if it exist in either case, is equally strong in both. But I cannot recognise the obligation in either case, though I acknowledge the right of the people in both. Is a difference made between the District of Columbia, and the States of Maryland and Virginia, from which it was taken? The question was settled in relation to this District by those States, by the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution, when it was a part of those States; and a subsequent cession of jurisdiction could not deprive the citizens of the rights already secured to them by both the Federal Constitution and the Constitutions of their respective States. The right of Congress to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever, does not mean omnipotent legislation. Congress have no right, in the District of Columbia, to take away the right of trial by jury; to pass an *ex post facto* law; to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press; to establish religion by law; nor to destroy the rights of property, or the personal liberty of the citizen. The reserved rights are as sacred in the District of Columbia as in the State of New York. They have the same right to consider the abolition of slavery in New York a grievance, and petition Congress to abolish it there, as the citizens of New York have to consider it a grievance in the District, and petition Congress to

abolish it. Their right in either case to assemble peaceably and make their petition, I do not call in question; but the obligation on my part to present it to the Senate, I do not admit.

If a number of citizens should consider a Republican Government a grievance, and petition Congress to establish a monarchy; if others consider religious toleration a grievance, and petition Congress to destroy heresy, by abolishing all religious sects but their own, I should not consider it my duty to present their petitions to the Senate, nor do I consider it my duty to present a petition, the certain tendency of which is to destroy the harmony, and eventually to break asunder the bonds of our Union.

In regard to new States, the case is, if possible, still stronger. They must be united upon terms of equality. Each State having reserved the right of regulating this subject for itself, no one can be constitutionally deprived of the right. The State of New York has abolished slavery; but this abolition is not the condition on which she holds her place in the Confederacy. It is her own policy; and if it shall be her pleasure to change it, Congress cannot interfere. So, if new States are admitted into the Union, when admitted, they will stand upon an equality with New York. They may establish or abolish slavery at their pleasure, and neither Congress nor any other State, will have any more right to interfere with the subject, than with the laws of primogeniture in the British empire. The object of the petition does not affect the abstract question of slavery; that is a subject which the Abolitionists of the free States can no more affect, than they can that of the privileges of the British nobility. The plain question is this: shall we continue a united confederated Republic, or shall we dissolve the Union? If the prayer of this and similar petitions should be granted by a majority of Congress, the inevitable effect would be an immediate destruction of the Confederacy; and, with it, those bonds of affection which have united us one great, one harmonious family. It has been my grief to observe a recklessness on the part of some, whom I otherwise highly esteem, showing an utter disregard of all consequences which must result from the perpetual agitation of this subject. We have an interest at stake too dear to be compromised for a phantom, which we can never gain, however enthusiastically we may pursue it. As a free, a powerful, and a happy nation we stand unrivalled in the annals of the world.

Turning the eye alternately to every region of our country, it is greeted with the smiles of happiness, amid the scenes of liberty and peace, and plenty; and yet imagination frequently pauses upon the localities which remind us of the price at which these blessings were gained. Do we compare our condition with that of adjoining colonies? We look to Quebec—and there Montgomery fell. We return to view the beautiful town of Boston and take our stand on Bunker Hill—there Warren died. We cross the delightful fields of Connecticut—there Wooster bled. We continue our observation through the Jerseys, till we reach Princeton—there Mercer perished.

Even from the Capitol in which we are assembled, we cast a look to the South, and the heights of Vernon remind us that the mighty Washington slumbers there, who forsook those peaceful shades, for the toils and dangers, and the privations of the sanguinary field, where, with thousands of others equally brave and patriotic the enemies of our rights were defeated. It is at the price of their blood that we, in common with your fair petitioners, now enjoy these blessings. When these rights were again threatened, I regarded it my duty, in humble imitation of these apostles and martyrs of liberty, to offer my life upon the altar of my country, to confirm to you and to them the permanent enjoyment of those blessings. A merciful providence protected me, and I find a twofold recompense in the preservation of our institutions.

With these views I cannot reconcile it to my sense of duty to present the petition. I shall enter into no discussion on the principle of slavery, as that is not involved in the subject. I can view it in no other light than that of an interference with the constitutional rights of others, and in such a way as tends to the destruction of the rich inheritance purchased by the blood and toil of the fathers of the Revolution. Another circumstance exists, aside from what I have noticed above, which would make me reluctant to present this petition—it comes from ladies, ordained by nature and by the custom of all civilized nations, to occupy a higher place in society than that of petitioners to a legislative body.

If courtesy could induce me, on a subject that could not become a matter of injurious notoriety, to present a petition from females, yet I should regard it purely as a matter of courtesy and not of constitutional right. The rights of women are secure through the coarser sex—their fathers, their husbands, and their brothers. It is the right of a woman to maintain a modest retirement in the bustle of politics and war. She does not appear at the polls to vote, because she is privileged to be represented there by a man. She does not serve on juries, nor perform the duties of the bailiff or execu-

tioner, because it would be a degradation of her dignity. She does not take up arms and meet her country's foes; because she is a privileged character; a man is her substitute, who represents her in all these drudgeries. Every man is bound by the perfect law of custom, of nature, and of honor, to protect and serve her. This is the light in which the law of God places the woman. She is veiled and silent even in religious discussions, not because she is unworthy, but because she is exempt from the strife of man; it is her right to observe that retired modesty which renders her the object of admiration and esteem. In this respect, the Constitution of our country is established upon the principles of the Divine law. If the rights of man are inviolable, they are of course confirmed to women; and the most dignified of the sex are the least inclined to meddle with public matters. I presume females, who sign petitions, would not consent to the publication of their names. I should be very reluctant to be accessory to an act which should, in any degree, cast a shade of reproach upon an individual of that sex, whose modest dignity is the glory of man. Thus, sir, I have frankly stated my views in returning the petition as I now do.

I trust you will not deem it disrespectful to you, nor the ladies for whom you act. Be assured that, for yourself individually, I entertain high respect; and could I serve you personally, it would give me great pleasure to do so. Though a stranger to the signers of the petition, I do not doubt the respectability of their character, and I deeply regret being requested, on their behalf, to perform an act with which I cannot consistently comply; but with the views, which I entertain, I cannot better testify my regard for them than by returning the petition.

Most respectfully,

RH. M. JOHNSON.

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., New York City.

Question.—Why do the Whigs call their candidate "Old Tip?"

Answer.—Because he drinks "hard cider."

Old Tip-ler is a very pretty name for a candidate for the Presidency.

CONNECTICUT ELECTION—THE MONEY POWER.

Extract of a letter from the State, "7th April.

"Our election terminated yesterday, and we have, by express, returns from all but 5 towns in the State. We have increased our vote over 2,000 for Niles—a vote that would, last year, have defeated the Federal ticket; but the combined forces of Federalism, Abolitionism and Conservatism are again triumphant. Throughout the contest, we have been unable to bring the enemy to any distinct issue: it has been from the beginning to the close, a slanging match, opposition to the Administration. This is the common bond that has kept united the most discordant materials. The most extraordinary, degrading and disgusting coalitions have been formed. In Hartford, for instance, two representatives were to be elected—The Coalition nominated one Federalist and one Conservative. There has been here a high temperance excitement. One of these men is ultra-temperance, and the other, the leading anti-temperance partizan; and the whole heterogeneous compound came together, and mingled and cemented in one common cause. In a large proportion of the State, the same revolting means have been used.

"The influence of the Money Power, which you have scarcely known or felt in the South—the corporated wealth, which has, within the last few years, entered the political field, and which has been bearing uncontrolled sway at the North, has been severely felt during this election. I know not whether any corrective can be devised for this enormous evil; but, if not, I confess I fear for my country. I am, to a greater extent than almost any other, a believer in the ultimate just decision of the people, and the omnipotent rectitude of public opinion. But there is something corrupting and defective, and rotting in this corporated moneyed influence, that absolutely appals me. The *Ledger influence* is too potential in our country; but to see the masses in our large manufacturing villages, under the control of the agents of the corporations—to witness our merchants acting under the fear of a board of Bank Directors, is withering to every manly feeling, and sickening to the heart.

"But I am writing a dissertation, instead of a letter. We have polled the largest Democratic vote ever given in the State; and though beaten, we are by no means discouraged. The result will be seized upon by our opponents to make an impression abroad; particularly in your State, that will be far from the truth. Against this, I trust you will guard. The result of the election in Virginia will have an important bearing on the Presidential election. From what I see stated in the *Enquirer*, I feel confident that Mr. Van Buren will obtain the vote of Virginia.

"New York will have a fierce contest, not unlike our own. Her cursed corporations will prove Whig fortresses, but I trust she will weather the storm.

"Give us old Virginia this Spring as an example—shake off your 'Veiled Prophet'—let her step into the breach, and all will be well."



**THE POOR MAN'S CANDIDATE.**—Gen. Harrison, who is called by the Whigs the poor man's candidate, did, on the 15th day of April, 1818, while a member of the House of Representatives, vote against the reduction of the duty on SALT from Twenty to Twelve and a half cents per bushel. This is another evidence of his regard for the poor laboring man!!—*Valley Star.*

#### RICHMOND, Va., SATURDAY, APRIL 25.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—Mr. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

☐ If any gentleman has any copies of our 1st and last Nos. of the Crisis to spare, we should be obliged to him by sending those Nos. to this Office.

#### The Log Cabin Candidate.

In a late number of the Crisis, the appellation of GRAND LAMA was applied to the Log Cabin, or as he should be called, the Log Idol of Whig worship. The aptness of this appellation is forcibly impressed by several points of comparison between the object of idolatry amongst the Whigs of our day, and a like object amongst the pagans of Thibet. With the latter, their GRAND LAMA, when first promoted to his Godship, is always some baby whom the Priests, the impostors who use him for the purposes of duping the multitude, and of maintaining their own power, pretend to discover after diligent search, by certain infallible signs or marks about his person, known only to the initiated, the propagators and apostles of the true faith. So soon as they have discovered this baby, with the unquestionable marks of divinity upon him, he is taken into their special and holy keeping; is secluded from the general gaze: shut up within a temple, where he is moulded and fashioned to the habits and practices of all their jugglery, and exhibited only on occasions and under circumstances deemed promotive of the designs and interests of his keepers; to speak or be silent; to nod, to smile, to frown, as they shall give the signal. And now as to the points of resemblance with the WHITE LOG LAMA! First, with respect to the babyism, if the term may be permitted; we know there is a second as well as a first childhood; and that in the former, the predominance of imbecility and folly is often far greater, always more incurable, than during the latter; whether viewed in connection with the mind or the body—and, so far as the intellect of this Whig Idol is concerned, it is thought that no proof of the predominance before mentioned can be more conclusive, than has been furnished by a late occasion of offering an eagle, or a turkey buzzard, or a crow (for the real nature of the bird is still doubted,)—an oblation so gratifying, as to have caused the outpouring of numerous puerilities about the Grannies, the Thames, and Alexander the Great, which might, perhaps, have escaped ridicule in a boy of seven years old. The Priests of the fane were surely not present at this sacrifice; for, though not always peculiarly felicitous in the responses given out by them, they must have restrained or prevented this overpowering display of nonsense from their LOG DIVINITY. As to the outward marks by which the Lama is to be discovered, the comparison holds equally well as to these also. Many of us remember about four years ago, when this GREAT BEING chanced to be straying through Virginia, and had not yet been identified, that one of the priesthood, a member of his craft, so renowned for the brightness of his visions, and the truth of all his vaticinations, that he has a thousand times foreseen not only what has to others been wholly invisible, but what moreover "never can be seen," cried out upon discovering the outward marks of his divinity, "This is the President!" "*Deus, Deus ille Menalca!*" adding, probably, though not in the hearing of profane ears—the invocation, "*Sis bonus O felixque tuis!*" Upon the announcement of his discovery and his exultation by this transported worshipper, he was requested to make known the true flesh-marks, the veritable tests and features to all the faithful. He perversely declined a compliance, however, and hence it may have been that the sect have been bewildered and dispersed, and their idol deprived of enthronement and worship. To avert in future the like consequences, it is said, that others of the same priesthood, having also discovered the real flesh marks, have seized upon and secured the profession of this Log Divinity; have shut him within a lane watched by themselves alone, and exhibit him; and give out as coming from him responses, according to their calculations of what is best adapted to exciting the fanaticism of their sect, and to increasing the power and profit of the craft. In the preceding last narrated, the similitude between the establishment and attributes of the Lama amongst the Pagans of Thibet, and those of the Log Idol amongst the motleys of our own country, is rendered complete.

#### "The Baboon Convention!"

**The Log Cabin Festival at Winchester.**—What an exquisite picture of the ridiculous must have been exhibited by the little man in the Piazza, and the little man on the roof of the Cabin, complacently interchanging

commendation of themselves, and paltry abuse and vituperation of their betters! This picture wanted only a touch or two for its perfection, which, it is hoped, some limner will yet supply, viz: the appending of a tail to the nether man of the little figure upon the Piazza, and especially to that of him who was perched upon the Cabin top; and the placing of a nut or an apple in the fist of each, to munch the while. With such additions, the picture would be finished *à ravir!* Will not the withering indignation of the people be roused at beholding such nummery, gotten up with the expectation of entrapping them?

#### Bank of Virginia.

Mallory, the assistant 1st Teller, has been discharged by the Mayor.—On Friday, the trial of B. W. Green came on before a called Court of Hustings, composed of Aldermen Cullen, Cowles, Evans, Dove, Duval and Grubbs. In consequence of the absence of several material witnesses on the part of the Commonwealth, the prosecution were obliged to ask a continuance of the case until next week—Wednesday was agreed on. Application was made by the counsel of Green, that he should be discharged from custody upon his bail—whereupon considerable discussion arose. The motion was warmly pressed by the one side, and as warmly repelled by the other. The Court, however, refused to admit him to bail; and he was remanded to the city jail to await his further trial.

#### THE VIRGINIA ELECTION.

The die is cast. The battle is over. Who has won the victory during the campaign, is a problem which it may require several days to solve. Fortunately, yesterday was an uncommonly fine day. The whole drama was compressed into one act—No postponement of the election—no suspense on account of the prolonged contest. It is probable, that throughout the whole Commonwealth, the polls were closed last evening. We shall collect the details, as fast as the mail can bear us the tidings. It is idle now to indulge in any speculation of the results, when a few days must bring us the reality. In all human probability, the contest is close, as the struggle has been arduous. We have never known the political cauldron boil with such vehemence throughout this extended Commonwealth—but, although means have been resorted to by the Opposition, which causes the cheek of a Virginian to blush for shame; though misrepresentations of the grossest character have been circulated; and humbugs of the most ridiculous description and of the vilest taste, have been propagated for electioneering effect, yet we are happy to state, that there was, as Aaron Burr once said, "no war but in the newspapers." We speak of what has passed under our own observation. There may have been quarrelling and violence and intemperance elsewhere—yet we have seen very little of that spirit in the social circles, which we have visited.

Two expedients were employed on the eve of the Election, which must excite the indignation of the People of Virginia, "albeit unused" to such desperate resources. One was, that an Ex-Senator of the United States, whose re-election was at stake, should stoop from his dignity, take the field in his own behalf; roam from county to county for the purpose of operating on doubtful elections, in order to secure the success of the candidates who would vote for himself; flit from Nelson to Albemarle, from Albemarle to Frederick, and send to such abusive attacks upon his opponents as from Frederick to Culpeper and Rappahannock; and de would reflect discredit upon the lowest slangwhangers of his party. Another circumstance, which marks the close of the contest, is the mine which was suddenly sprung upon the Republicans, in the deceptive handbill, which was concocted at Washington by the Executive Committee of a secret Cabal, for the purpose of deciding a doubtful contest in Virginia—Yes, the proudest and most independent and high-minded State in the Union, this untiered Old Commonwealth, who is wont to give the tone to the citizens of other States, instead of taking it from them—seven-eighths of this Executive Committee, consisting of the citizens of other States, and one of these an Abolitionist under his own sign manual, and the other, the author of the resolutions for calling the Hartford Convention. This handbill consists of garbled and deceptive statements—and was sent, (as Mr. Wise himself confessed on Tuesday on the floor of the H. of R.) and was probably concocted, for the express purpose of operating on the good People of Virginia. The article from the Globe, which we lay before our readers to-day, exposes some of the errors, which this handbill is calculated to produce—we shall publish a longer and more elaborate article from the Wednesday's Globe, supplying the omitted items of expenditure, and exposing the objects of this insidious paper—with which Virginia is probably flooded (under member's franks,) from the sea-shore to the mountains.—As soon as the admirable speech of Mr. John W. Jones can be published, it will make this matter as clear as light, and cause this acute trick to recoil upon its authors fearfully before the election of November. It has already been the means of producing a disgraceful personal rencontre in the H. of R. between Mr. Rice Garland of Louisiana (one of the Executive Committee,) and Mr. Bynum of N. C., which led to an indignant debate, and an Investigating Committee.

As soon as this famous handbill, which has for the last two days been strown broad-cast in some of the

surrounding counties, was received from a friend at Washington on Wednesday morning, we thought it necessary to repel the attempt, and to issue another handbill, by way of counteraction. It was accordingly struck on Wednesday night—and was yesterday circulated in such counties, as could be reached in the course of yesterday.—The following is the handbill, issued from this office, by way of antidote to the poison:

#### For 23d April—Election Day!

To the Voters of the Surrounding Counties.

The Whigs are striking their last stroke—playing their last card on the eve of the Election. They have struck off immense numbers of a deceptive handbill, calculated to gull an honest people. And who strikes this precious handbill? Eight members of Congress, who style themselves "Executive Committee"—viz: R. Garland of Louisiana, John Bell of Tennessee, John M. Botts of Virginia, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, M. H. Gwynn of New York, J. C. Clark of N. York, Leverett Saltonstall of Mass., and Truman Smith of Connecticut. They are the "Executive Committee" of a secret cabal at Washington, who have a privy purse of their own, with which they subsidize the press, and they issue under their own franks, the Madisonian newspaper, for the purpose of ousting Martin Van Buren, and of electing their "Military Chieftain." One of these, John C. Clark, in co-operating with Mr. Botts' Central Club to circulate the mercenary Madisonian through the country, wrote thus: "Please forward the prospectuses with the money, and I will send the papers under frank to the subscribers." This same Executive Committee-man (the ally of Rice Garland, Bell, Botts, &c.) addressed secretly to the Abolitionists of Chenango county, in which district he was a candidate for Congress, on the 3d November, 1838, the following letter:

(From the Norwich N. Y. Journal of April 16.)

HON. JOHN C. CLARK AN ABOLITIONIST.

"We publish the following extract of a letter, addressed to the 'Electors of Chenango County,' by the Hon. John C. Clark—or, rather, it was addressed secretly, to the Abolitionists, to secure their votes. And this was done, too, at a time when publicly he disclaimed all connexion with them," &c., &c.

"TELEGRAPH EXTRA,

Norwich, Nov. 5, 1838."

"The sentiments of the following letter must, we think, be entirely unexceptionable to every reasonable and candid man.

"To the Electors of Chenango County.

"It is not unknown to me, that a portion of you, respectable both in numbers and in character, are in favor of the adoption of certain legislative enactments, in regard to slavery. Your opinions on this subject, I doubt not, are honestly entertained, and are entitled to respect. You have a right to know the opinions of those who are candidates for office.

"The people of the North are instinctively opposed to slavery in all its forms. They learn from their infancy, from our Declaration of Independence, that all men are 'born free and equal.' No one participates more largely or warmly in that sentiment than myself. If elected to Congress, I will, under the Constitution, and the obligations of my constitutional oath, vote to apply such corrective as that instrument sanctions. In the honest exercise of an unbiased judgment and sound discretion, I shall be prepared to act in obedience to the principles above avowed.

"The right of petition is dear, and secured to the American people. Its rejection by the British Crown was one cause of serious complaint by our Revolutionary fathers. I will never consent to its denial or abridgement; but sustain it in its fullest latitude, without reference to condition or color.

"The exclusive right given by the Constitution to Congress, to legislate for the District of Columbia, authorizes that body to abolish slavery in that District. The period when that power will be exercised, I trust is not remote; and when that period arrives, should I hold a seat in Congress, the appeals of the free, the humane and the oppressed, shall not be made in vain.

"I have deemed it proper, thus briefly and frankly, to give you my opinions. The particular measures which may be presented to the consideration of Congress in regard to this subject, it is unnecessary to anticipate. Whatever they may be, they will receive my most serious deliberation. The confidence you may repose in me, which may prompt you to give me your support, will assure me that you are willing to trust the matter, under the foregoing avowals, to my sense of duty, acting under the sacred charter of our liberties.

Your obedient,

J. C. CLARK.

Bainbridge, Nov. 3d., 1838."

People of Virginia! read this, and then say, what you think of a cabal and of a cause, with which J. C. Clark is associated—for the purpose of giving you a President, and among other means, deceiving you by one-sided handbills and garbled statements.

Extract of a letter from a Virginian,

WASHINGTON, April 21.

"Enclosed, you have the Expose which the Secret Whig Committee here have struck off, and are widely circulating against the Republican party. One of the



Committee starts for Richmond to-day, and is charged with the circulation of a vast number of this precious handbill. It will be put in the hands of every voter, whom they may hope to influence by its garbled statements.

#### REMEMBER THESE FACTS:

"1. Saltonstall, one of the Committee, which has put forth this deceptive Expose, was the man, who in the Massachusetts Assembly moved the famous Resolutions, in favor of the Hartford Convention." (Another letter from a Virginia member of Congress, writes April 20th, "Saltonstall's colleague (Parmenter) is at this moment shewing, that as a member of the Legislature he recommended the Hartford Convention.")

"2. That every living member of the Hartford Convention is a decided and active Whig.

"3. That Dwight, the Secretary of that Convention, published for many years a scurrilous paper against the Republican Administration of our country; and afterwards wrote a shameful and libellous Biography of our own great Jefferson.

"4. These facts are all true. They were lately stated in public debate on the floor of the Senate, by Bedford Brown of N. C., and were never contradicted by the Opposition members.

"5. That J. C. Clark is a rank Abolitionist—and would liberate the slaves at an early period in the District of Columbia," &c., &c.

(From the Globe of Monday last.)

#### EXPENSES OF THE GOVERNMENT—FEDERAL TRICKS.

People of Virginia, be on your Guard!

"Eight Federal members of Congress have put out a handbill containing a statement of the public accounts, which, without explanation is calculated to make a most false and foul impression on the public mind. It has been posted off into Virginia several days since, and it is only now by accident that we laid our hand on this handbill, a hundred thousand of which have been struck for circulation to impose on the voters of Virginia. It is signed by persons who add to their signatures the words "Executive Committee," to give to the whole the impress of an official document, emanating from a committee of the House, when it is, in fact, the production of a secret club appointed by a Federal caucus for electioneering purposes. The paper sent out is in the guise and form of a document printed by the House, and contains a statement of the public expenditures, designed as a comparison of the expenditures between the Administrations of Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren; but the items of which the aggregates are composed, are, in fact, not made up in such a way as to present a true state of the public expenses.

"For instance, among the charges laid to the last and present Administrations, are included the indemnities recovered from foreign nations, and paid out to the individual citizens to whom they belonged. In this way the millions recovered from France, Spain, Denmark, Naples, and other nations, and passing through the Government to the merchants and others, for whom they were recovered, are set down as an expenditure out of the Treasury, of the money of this country, when, in fact, this was money paid by foreign countries out of their treasury, to American citizens.

"In the same way all the money paid out of the Treasury for the expenses incurred in the Creek war, the Florida war, and the Black Hawk war, are contained in the swollen account of the expenditures of the late and present Administrations, while all the money paid out of the Treasury during Adams's administration for the previous war, is very properly excluded as not a charge appertaining to the regular expenses of the Government.

"The whole of the expenses of the Post Office Department being paid out of the postages, were not, in Mr. Adams's time, carried through the Treasury Department, and did not, therefore, appear to swell the fifteen millions of the annual expense of his administration to eighteen or twenty. They are now, by the late law, made to pass through the Treasury books, and are in this new form, although paid as before out of the postages, used by the Opposition to make an apparent excess in the expenditures of this administration over Adams's, and their natural growth with the growth of the country.

"In this false contrast is also heaped up, by the 'Executive Committee,' the extraordinary expenses beyond the estimates of the Administration which was voted by the Bank majorities in every successive Congress, which were gradually formed in that body by the corrupt practices of the great corporation. These expenses were wastefully and lavishly made by the enemies of the Administration, for their own sordid ends, local and personal, and were voted by those of them not directly interested in the objects, for the political purpose of bringing the Administration under the public censure for extravagance.

"We have not time now to go further into this subject. It is enough to guard Virginia against this handbill, to be informed that it is put out by a club of eight members—six of whom voted against the rule to protect their property against the plenary of the Abolitionists; and one of whom (Mr. Saltonstall) was this day shown to have voted in the Massachusetts Legislature for the Hartford Convention. Men who have shown that they would sacrifice the Union itself to party designs, can be guilty of any little trick that may subserve its ends."

#### NOW FOR THE FACTS!

##### Expenses of the Government.

The Whigs have most grossly misrepresented the expenses, under guise of a Document, which they promulgate under the flaming head of "official," viz: a statement, submitted to the H. of R. on the 25th June, 1838, signed by "T. L. Smith, Register." But the preceding remarks show how that document, if left unexplained, may be used to deceive the people. And this Committee do not explain it, and of course mislead the public. The following table of last year's appropriations is pronounced by Hugh A. Garland, Clerk of the House of Representatives, to be correct:

The aggregate appropriations in round numbers, are	\$38,000,000
From this amount, deduct those for occasional, contingent, and extraordinary objects, and we shall see the real amount of the expenditures of the Government:	
1st. For the contingent service of fifty thousand men to resist British aggression, if necessary, in Maine,	\$10,000,000
2d. For the Post Office Department, which is not a drain on the Treasury, but is paid by the office itself,	5,000,000
3d. For expenses of the Florida war, over the regular Army,	1,850,000
4th. For the Indian Department—embracing removals and subsistence of the emigrating Indians, compensation for their lands, &c.,	1,765,000
5th. For pensions—not as expenses of government, but as gratuities; and this is exclusive of nearly as much more paid under permanent pension laws,	2,500,000
6th. For protecting the Northern Frontiers,	500,000
For protecting Western Frontier,	80,000
And for military road,	25,000
7th. For public buildings, &c., viz:	
New Treasury building,	100,000
Post Office building,	150,000
Jail in City of Washington,	30,000
Custom House, New York,	150,000
Custom House, Boston,	75,000
Survey of U. S. coasts,	90,000

These amount to \$22,492,000

Which, being deducted from the aggregate,

leave for the expenses of Government, \$15,000,000

Remember, that the first item of ten millions was contingently appropriated by Congress to be used by the President, in case there were threatening signs of a war with Great Britain—but, so anxious was he to avoid all patronage, all expense, all power in raising any thing like a standing army, (with which he has been falsely charged by this same Committee,)—that the President never touched one cent of these ten millions, never raised one man out of the fifty thousand, and never sent one of his friends as Minister Extraordinary to London.

But the handbill harps upon another string for effect. It raises up another humbug. They say the President is anxious to have a large *Standing Army*. This brings us to the other trick of the handbill:—

##### The Organization of the Militia.

Among all the disingenuous artifices of the Whigs, there is none more gross than the humbug they have raised about what they call the *STANDING ARMY*.

A *Standing Army!* with which Mr. Van Buren, like a second Cromwell, is to subdue the people.

A *Standing Army!* that can never be embodied more than one month in a year.

A *Standing Army!* to be commanded not by officers appointed by Van Buren, but by officers appointed by the Governors of the States, many of whom are his bitterest ENEMIES. Who can believe that Gov. Pennington, of New Jersey, or any of the Governors of the Whig States, would appoint the suppliant tools of the man they so much hate? Truly, if the President and Mr. Poinsett had any designs upon our liberties through the means of this *STANDING ARMY*, they have strangely missed their aim. To use the vulgar adage, "they have cut a stick to break their own heads with." They are organising a military force, a *STANDING ARMY*, to put under the command of their enemies, instead of raising

a mercenary corps to be under their own command!

A *STANDING ARMY*, to subdue the people! to be composed of the *people themselves*; of our fathers and brothers and sons; of all classes and conditions; of the man of wealth, and the honest yeoman, the planter, the farmer, the merchant, the artisan and the laborer; men who know their rights and will defend them; men who love their liberties and will not betray them. Do the Whigs really believe then, that six thousand Virginians called out to muster for a fortnight or a month, could be prevailed on, in that time, to conspire against the liberties of their country, and to forge chains for their fathers and brethren and neighbors and friends, the grasp of whose hands they have so lately felt? We know the Whigs, as a body, have no respect for the people. The old leaven of Federalism has leavened the whole lump. And it was a favorite notion of Federalism, "to save the people from their own worst enemy, THEMSELVES." But we cannot believe even the Whigs suspect them of wilful intention to do wrong. It is their *ignorance* that sinneth, they would tell us; "they know not what they do." But surely they would have sense enough to know, that they were traitors to their country, if they turned against its liberties, the arms intended for its defence.

A *STANDING ARMY!* to be composed, not of the friends of the Administration alone, but of the gallant, and vigilant, and sagacious, and sharp-sighted, and intelligent, and patriotic, and independent Whigs, the great champions of liberty, the eternal foes of tyrants, and the uncompromising enemies of Van Buren also! Verily, this would offer but a hopeless prospect of success to all enterprise against our liberties, of that dangerous, ambitious and daring military chieftain, Martin Van Buren! If, as the Whigs say, they have a majority in Virginia, then would there be a majority of Whigs in this *FEARFUL ARMY*. How would Van Buren or Poinsett manage them? How would they get along with their army, when more than half of them must be their deadly foes, jealous of our liberties, and with minds poisoned by the suspicion that Martin Van Buren was coming out an Oliver Cromwell? But above all, how would their machinery work in those States—and such there are—where the Whigs greatly outnumber their opponents, and where the *STANDING ARMY* would be rather a *WHIG ARMY* with *WHIG* officers, than an army of Administration tools ready to do any treasonable work required of them? Truly, we have little reason to make acknowledgments to the Whigs for their estimates of us; but if they impute to their *Whig friends* the possibility of base treachery to their principles and subserviency to a tyrant, and treason to their native land, we perhaps may sit down more quietly under their coarse and vulgar abuse and their unworthy and degrading suspicions. Yet what must be the heart of that man, who, because I concur in the support of the Administration, will impute to me corruption and treason against my country, or intimate that I will use the arms she entrusts to me in cleaving down her liberties and supporting an usurper and a tyrant? The heart that can imagine it must be corrupt itself. Yet if this *STANDING ARMY* is to subdue our liberties, and if the Whigs cannot possibly be suspected of having a hand in it, then the subversion of our freedom is to be effected by the parried hands of the friends of the Administration. What say you, countrymen, to such a suspicion? What say you, honest yeomen, even of the Whig party? Do you believe your friends and neighbors ready for such a deed, or do you not rather repel with indignation a suspicion as unworthy of you as it is injurious to them?

##### Now, one word from Mr. Poinsett's Scheme!

"The plan contemplated, that the power of the President to call out this militia, should be restricted to assembling the militia of each State within its own territorial limits."

"As we cannot be too scrupulous in our interpretation of the Constitution, I propose that, in the event of its becoming necessary to resort to drafts, in order to fill the ranks of the active class of militia, to apply to the States to place, by law, their contingents at the disposition of the General Government, for a period not more than thirty days of every year, for the purpose of their being trained in conjunction with regular troops and by veteran officers. It is not probable, that this co-operation will be withheld by any State when the advantages are presented, of possessing a body of well-organized, well-armed, and well-disciplined militia, without any expense either to the States or to the citizens, and when they are made aware that it is the intention of the Government to assemble such militia at convenient points within each State, and in the vicinity of depots of arms which it is proposed to establish as part of the system."—Mr. Poinsett's Report of April 8.

But compare Mr. Poinsett's Report with the scheme reported by Gen. Harrison himself, when he was Chairman of the Militia Committee of the H. of R., in which he proposed, among other wild extravagancies, to extend the powers of the Federal Government, by placing a Professor of Gymnastics in "every School in the U. S.," and a Professor of Tactics in all the "higher Seminaries." On this subject, young Hoge replied the



other day to Gen. Baldwin, at Fincastle, and treating it ludicrously—"concluded by some happy comparisons which drew from a crowded audience many bursts of applause, and long and loud cheering, particularly when he hoped, that when the boys began to muster with their old tin pans and wooden swords, the Whigs would not get frightened and scamper off round the corners, shouting *Standing Army! Standing Army!! Standing Army!!!*"

And now one more remark, before we have done.—We shall quietly await the returns from the counties. But whatever may be the result, we must give this caution to politicians in other States. Whether we carry the Legislature now or not, we shall carry the Presidential Ticket in November. Now, we vote by counties of unequal dimensions and population—and a man can vote in every county, in which he owns a freehold, and which he has time to visit. But in November, the election is decided by a majority of the whole State, and no man can vote but once. The consequence is, that all the strong Republican counties will then tell with all their force (in two of them alone, viz: Rockingham and Shenandoah, we count upon 2,000 majority)—and the large Whig vote, belonging to the towns, will not operate with double and treble and sometimes quadruple force upon the country. The Whigs will lose by this cause alone more than one thousand votes. It is idle, then, for the Richmond Whig to say, that "the Whig spring vote will be exceeded thousands by the Whig fall vote." So far from this being the case, we venture to predict, that Mr. Van Buren will carry the State from seven to ten thousand. There was more true philosophy in the statement of a Washington Correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot, than in the maxim which the Whig quotes from Marshal Ney: "It should be borne in mind that the Democrats in Virginia go into the contest for the Legislature, at great disadvantage. The (unequal county) system (and the Whig town votes) operate so as to require a popular majority of nearly 7,000 in the State, to secure a majority of Democratic members."—*Nous Verrons.*

## FOR THE CRISIS.

## "Changes, Changes."

The Whigs talk, for effect, of many changes against the Administration; but they take care not to specify. The fact is, the changes the other way are daily becoming more numerous, and all this Whig cry of changes, changes, is a finesse to prevent deluded Republicans from going back to their natural friends and allies.—Whig humbuggery and deception has had its day. Before the next Presidential election, it will dwindle down to its old Federal dimensions. Ashamed of the name by which the High Priest of American Whiggery christened them, and thinking it would never do to put Harrison forth as the WHIG candidate, some of their Editors blazon him as the "REPUBLICAN WHIG" candidate. Some folks are too squeamish to say buzzard, who have no hesitation in saying turkey-buzzard. It is on some such conceit as this, that some Editors proclaim Harrison the "Republican Whig candidate," since Rives, in his second sight, has discovered that he is, indeed, "the true Republican candidate"—the true Prince Hal.

A connection of a certain Whig Editor, shortly after his arrival in this country, went out gunning and shot a buzzard, which he carried home, and ordered the old cook-woman to "make up a chicken pie!" To which old Nanay, the cook, exclaimed, "Goodey gracious, massa, how me make chicken pie out on tucky-buzzard!" Now if Mr. Rives, and this Editor to help him, can make a Republican of William Henry Harrison, they can beat old Nanny.

I am positively certain that in the county of my residence, there have not been half as many changes against the Administration as the number of different names the Federalists have assumed to hide their true character. Indeed I do not know a single individual in Virginia, who has turned against the Administration, except the arch apostate and the few pitiable victims of his delusive arts. His "militia standing army" may have scared off a few gulls that I have not heard of.

## HARD CIDER.

## FOR THE CRISIS.

## POWER OVER THE POCKET.

Power over the pockets of the people, is now, and ever has been the aim of the Federalists, no matter what name they assume or what professions they make. They are playing a sly and sneaking game; striving to conceal their real designs, under a continued round of clamorous and false accusations against the present Administration. But, with all their hypocrisy, they unconsciously betray themselves by the very means to which they resort to blind the people. They hold the President accountable for the low prices of our tobacco, wheat and cotton, and for all our pecuniary difficulties; and they promise, that if we will elevate their candidate to the Presidency, he will regulate things better.—Let them be held to the issue which they have unconsciously presented. Let that issue be stripped naked to the gaze of every voter. HAS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THE RIGHT—OUGHT IT TO BE INVESTED WITH THE POWER, TO SET PRICES UPON OUR LABOR—

OUR PROPERTY AND PRODUCTS OF ALL SORTS? Is this dread power over the pocket centred in the Federal Executive—in Martin Van Buren? The Federal Whigs so contend, when they denounce the President for the low prices of our products. And when they promise, that if we will elevate Gen. Harrison to the Presidency; he will raise the wages of labor, raise the prices of our products, and make "times better," they claim a scope of EXECUTIVE POWER, which "the Grand Turk himself" would scarcely dare to claim. And this power over our fortunes is claimed by Wm. Henry Harrison, a candidate in the hands of keepers, who deem it bad "policy" to permit him even to answer a letter for himself! And yet, every Federal Whig press, and every Federal Whig leader and sub-leader, would frighten us out of our sober senses, by preaching up the dangers and corruptions to be apprehended from the growth of EXECUTIVE POWER! What rank hypocrisy!

That the Federal Government is invested with powers, the abuse, or unwise exercise of which, may operate most injuriously upon our pecuniary interests, no one can deny. But the bitterest enemy of President Van Buren may fearlessly be challenged to point to a single act or proposed measure, in which he has sought to extend the scope of Executive power beyond the limits of the Constitution—or, in which he has abused his constitutional powers, to the injury of the people. Though charges of this sort have again and again been heaped upon him, yet when fairly examined, those charges have been found to rest upon naked slander.—It has been a standing charge against him, that he is "tinkering with the currency;" but when we look to facts, we find that the real ground of their complaint is, that he refuses to tinker with the paper currency—that he refuses to tinker for the special benefit of the Banks, and their dependents, who seek to live and thrive by the favoritism of Government, at the expense of the great mass of the people. Can any sound Republican be so stupid, or so blinded by party malice, as not to see in the following extracts from the President's Message at the called session in 1837, a blasting refutation of this senseless charge about "tinkering with the currency," and a blasting condemnation of those leaders, who profess State Rights doctrines, and yet act with the ultra-Federalists?

"But it was not designed by the Constitution that the Government should assume the management of domestic or foreign exchange. It is indeed authorized to regulate by law the commerce between the States, and to provide a general standard of value, or medium of exchange in gold and silver—but it is not its province to aid individuals in the transfer of their funds, otherwise than through the facilities afforded by the Post Office Department. As justly might it be called on to provide for the transportation of their merchandise.—These are operations of trade. They ought to be conducted by those who are interested in them, in the same manner that the incidental difficulties of other pursuits are encountered by other classes of citizens. Such aid has not been deemed necessary in other countries.—Throughout Europe, the domestic as well as the foreign exchanges are carried on by private houses, often, if not generally without the assistance of Banks. Yet they extend throughout distinct sovereignties, and far exceed in amount the real exchange of the U. States. There is no reason why our own may not be conducted in the same manner, with equal cheapness and safety. Certainly this might be accomplished, if it were favored by those most deeply interested—and few can doubt that their own interest, as well as the general welfare of the country, would be promoted, by leaving such a subject in the hands of those to whom it properly belongs. A system founded on private interest, enterprise and competition, without the aid of legislative grants or regulations by law, would rapidly prosper—it would be free from the influence of political agitation, and extend the same exemption to trade itself—and it would put an end to those complaints of neglect, partiality, injustice and oppression, which are the unavoidable results of interference by the Government, in the proper concerns of individuals. All former attempts on the part of the Government to carry its legislation, in this respect, further than was designed by the Constitution, have in the end proved injurious, and have served only to convince the great body of the people, more and more, of the certain dangers of blending private interests with the operations of public business; and there is no reason to suppose that a repetition of them now would be more successful."

Every candid and honest Republican will see in the following extract from the same message, the line distinctly drawn between the President and his Federal enemies.—They are the men, who are for tinkering with the paper currency and exchanges—and surely we have seen and felt enough of the disastrous results of their "Experiments" with the paper system, linked to the Federal Government, to admonish us of the folly of a renewal of the alliance, or farther prosecution of their schemes, and to admonish us of the necessity of "bringing back the Government to its true constitutional character and destination." State Rights voters of the South! Honest Democrats everywhere! Read and well

consider the views advanced in the following extract. However unsuited these sentiments may be to the selfish designs of those who seek to aggrandize themselves by the favoritism of Government, they are sentiments which ought to sink deep into the heart of every honest man, who desires to perpetuate our institutions in their Republican simplicity—in their constitutional purity:

"The preceding suggestions and recommendations, (says President Van Buren,) are submitted in the belief, that their adoption by Congress will enable the Executive Department to conduct our fiscal concerns with success, so far as their management has been committed to it. Whilst the objects and the means proposed to attain them are within its constitutional powers and appropriate duties, they will at the same time, it is hoped, by their necessary operation, afford essential aid in the transaction of individual concerns, and thus yield relief to the people at large in a form adapted to the nature of our Government."

People of Virginia! Beware of the power over the pocket! We all know—we all feel, that our banking institutions hold and wield this power to a dangerous extent. Will you make that power omnipotent, by again linking the power and patronage of the Federal Government to the already overgrown powers and influences of the banks? Think as you may of the utility or inutility of banks, we shall never be safe, so long as Banking power is blended with Federal power.—We shall never be safe, until the Federal Government shall be brought back within the limits of the written Constitution—until the Banks shall be brought within their legitimate sphere, and held unflinchingly to the constitutional standard of gold and silver.—That standard was erected by our Republican fathers, as our best security.—It is the only security to our labor and property, against the swindling operations of an otherwise unbridled paper system.

## A DEMOCRAT.

## AND THEREFORE FOR STATE RIGHTS.

## Gen. Wm. H. Harrison a Federalist in '98-'99, &amp;c.

We will not repeat the charge of Mr. Randolph, and the acknowledgment of Gen. Harrison, with the exception of the Alien and Sedition laws. But we submit the following additional facts:

1. Gen. Harrison must have succeeded Steele of Virginia, as Secretary to the Northwestern Territory. Mr. Jefferson says (4th vol. p. 508) that Steele, after being rejected in Virginia for Congress and State Senate, was appointed by John Adams, "because he turned Tory." Gen. H. was appointed Secretary on the 28th June, 1798.

2. His commission as Secretary, the Alien and Sedition laws, and the law for the Provisional Army, were all signed by John Adams in 1798, in the same month, and perhaps with the same ink.

3. The avowed rule of John Adams's appointments was a conformity with the principles of the Administration. N. Smith of Connecticut avowed it in Congress, and said "that the Executive had and would continue to select characters of this description." Robert Goodloe Harper declared also, "that the Executive would act wisely in choosing officers exclusively from men of his own political opinions." McHenry, Secretary of War, declared in his famous letter to Gen. Darke of Va., that he would make no appointments in the Provisional army "but of spirits not disaffected."

4. In December, 1799, Gen. H. came into Congress, as a Delegate from the People, whose political opinions were concurrent with those of Mr. Adams, as he avowed to the Senate in March, 1800. We cannot trace his course thoroughly, because not having the right to vote, he is not to be found in the eyes or noses. But he opposed the reduction of the Provisional army, in opposition to Nicholas, Giles, and all the Republicans.

5. He introduced a bill for establishing the Territory of Indiana—which was vehemently attacked by Jackson of Virginia, and it became a party question. The law was signed by President John Adams on the 7th May, 1800, and on the 12th of the same month, he was nominated by John Adams to the lucrative office of its Governor, in the midst of the Reign of Terror and of party proscription. There were many distinguished applicants for the office, among them, the papers of the day say, was Jonathan Dayton, a Federal Speaker of the H. of R.—Who can believe, that Gen. H. was not then considered a friend of J. Adams's Administration?

6. The Aurora, the organ of the Republican party, said "that Mr. Harrison of the Northwestern Territory was a Federalist." The Editor lampoons the whole Federal party by providing a library for them; and for each leader, a treatise peculiar to his taste. He assigns to Mr. Harrison "Barrataria, or Sancho would-be Governor." This was at a time when Mr. Jefferson said, that offices were given to the "faithful" only, and all were excluded "whose every shade of opinion was not theirs."

7. On the 22d March, 1826, Gen. H. admitted that he had in '99 expressed sentiments favorable to the then (J. Adams's administration)—And yet all this evidence is to be set aside by the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Burnett, an avowed rank Federalist—who might indeed have heard



him express sentiments favorable to Mr. Jefferson, after he (Mr. J.) became lord of the ascendant.

8. But in addition to all these facts, he was the friend of John Q. Adams's election and administration—of his ultra skylight Message—of the Panama mission—and took office (Minister to Colombia) under the 2d Adams.

9. He is a latitudinous Constructionist—in favor of all the strong Federal measures of latter times—the Tariff, Internal Improvements, appropriation of all the surplus revenue to the purchase of slaves, the military education of all the youth in the country by officers appointed by the Federal Government; a friend to the National Bank, if it facilitates the revenue; and an approver of the Proclamation even unexplained, and an advocate of Webster's doctrines as the best Exposition of the Principles of the Constitution. This mass of evidence stamps him as a Federalist. People of Virginia! will you choose such a man as your President?

#### The Virginia Elections.

We give the returns as far as received, up to the moment of going to press. The contest is arduous, and the result through the State uncertain. We incline to the impression, that the Democrats have carried the State this Spring—That they will carry it this Fall, we do not entertain a doubt.—On Thursday night, the Whigs had an avalanche of rumors, which seemed to bear down all before it—Not to speak of the City of Richmond, and County of Henrico, there were Hanover, Louisa, Caroline, Spottsylvania, and Stafford, all were said to have gone for the Whigs. Yesterday, they were still more exulting—Powhatan lost to us; then Cumberland, P. Edward, Amelia, &c., &c., all gone for the Whigs! They were crowing and bragging a little too much. They who do not know how to enjoy success, do not deserve it. But the evening came, and secured us Dinwiddie, and saved Louisa. The evening car gave us back Stafford—and reports Caroline (last year for the Whigs) now very doubtful. Wherever Richmond could make herself felt, her great influence has been exerted. She has made her mark all around her. Her preponderant vote has carried Henrico, Hanover, Powhatan, and possibly Caroline! As the game stands, we have lost Hanover, and Powhatan for a season. (For, Michaux disputes the seat, and we have no doubt will reclaim it. It is said, that 15 votes were given against him, upon freeholds, which fell below the value of the constitutional standard, according to the late assessment. The question is, does this assessment apply to this Election—and we have the opinion of one of the first authorities of this land, that it decidedly does. If so, we shall get Powhatan back.) In which case, we have lost only one county (Hanover) and gained one (Dinwiddie)—and if we have got Caroline, we are one ahead. No positive accounts from Amelia, Prince Edward, &c.—But since writing these lines, we learn that Nottoway is said to have gone for the Whigs by 2 votes. She is offsetted by Amelia on our side, which we have carried.—The battle, however, cannot yet be counted: the smoke has not blown away. It will require several days to obtain the necessary returns. We have fought under many disadvantages. The Whigs have resorted to means, at which Virginians ought to blush. They have inundated the country with pamphlets and handbills of the most deceptive character. The State has been overrun with Electoral Spouters, and the Nos. of the Yeoman, which went forth before the Crisis could be got up to apply the antidote. The cry has been, the low prices and hard times—the humbug of the Standing Army, &c., &c., &c., and every sort of device has been employed. On the very eve of the election, a handbill was thrown, like a firebrand, into the State—prepared by eight members of Congress at Washington—containing the most garbled and insidious statements. A Virginia member of Congress did not hesitate to associate himself with seven members from other States to direct and control this proud Commonwealth, who has been accustomed to give the law, rather than receive it—to teach others, rather than be taught by them—and in this "Executive Committee" of the Secret Cabal, which has raised a privy purse to subsidize the press, and to scatter the Madisonian, under the franks of the Whig members, there are a secret Abolitionist (Clark of N. Y.) and the preparer of the Hartford Convention Resolutions (Saltonstall of Mass.) These rascals have had the insolence to ban together, to dictate to Virginia, in the exercise of her most important privilege, on the eve of the Election—before any opportunity could have been obtained for counteracting their gross misrepresentations. But this is not the only instance, where the Whigs have called in the citizens of other states to invade our sanctuary, and to control our opinions. The same thing was done by Messrs. Vinton and Fisher of Gallipolis (State of Ohio,) who attended the Superior Court of Mason county and addressed the people.—The same thing was also done by Hoffman of Baltimore, who was associated with W. C. Rives in haranguing our people at Winchester. Not the least remarkable phenomenon of the times, and one of the most indecent of the arts of the Whigs, is in this Ex-

Senator roaming about from county to county, where the election was considered doubtful, and addressing and operating upon the voters to elect Delegates who will re-elect him. Mr. R. and J. S. Pendleton of Culpeper have even been "hunting in couples." If these interpositions; if these stratagems of the Whigs, do not rouse up the blood of the Virginians, then "the race of noble bloods" is not what it once was.

#### RETURNS of the Election of 22d April.

**City of Richmond.**—Wyndham Robertson, re-elected without opposition.

**Henrico County.**—McRae (W.) re-elected by a majority of 174 over R. Reins (D.) Mr. Reins had been out among the people but a few days. His competitor was long and actively in the field. The county is Democratic; but the vote of the city (including corporate votes) overruled her Democracy.

**Hanover.**—Charles Thompson (W.) elected by 30 majority over Col. Wm. Larkin White, (late Democratic Delegate)—White defeated by the shameful slang of the Whigs respecting the standing army, and by the vote of Richmond. Old Hanover will be disenthralled next Spring—long before which time, the mists from the humbugs of Whiggery, will disperse.

**New Kent and Charles City.**—Clayton G. Coleman (W.) re-elected over Stubblefield (W.) 8 votes, and Lacy (D.)

**King William.**—Benj. F. Dabney\* elected 238, over Fontaine, (late Delegate) 209—Both Democrats.

**Powhatan.**—George N. N. Porter\* (W.) by 8 votes over the late Democratic Delegate Michaux—214 to 206. (Major Michaux disputes the election. He will recover his seat.) Here too the Richmond vote turned the scale.

**Louisa.**—Lipsecomb (D.) re-elected by 15 majority over Melton (W.)

**Cumberland.**—Irving (W.) probably elected by 8 votes over C. Harrison (D.)—a greatly reduced Whig majority.

#### (Extract of a letter from R. Whig.)

"CARTERSVILLE, April 23, 1840.

"The polls at Irvin's closed this evening, giving Harrison a majority of 8. Cumberland Courthouse, 3 o'clock this evening, Harrison 7 ahead; at Raines', 3 o'clock, Irving 27 ahead. We think Irving is elected, but have no definite return."

**Buckingham.**—Kyle and Flood (W.) re-elected by from 50 to 80 over the Democratic candidates; a greatly reduced majority. The next time the vessel may entirely right itself.

**Dinwiddie.**—Vaughan has beat Whitworth, the late Whig Delegate, by 25 majority.—Vaughan deserves again his sobriquet of "the bold and vigorous."—(See Letter below.)

**Culpeper.**—Broadus (W.) re-elected by from 90 to 100 majority.

**Caroline.**—The result not positively ascertained—but Corbin (W.) said to be re-elected by a majority of 2.—(Here too the Richmond vote decided the contest, if it has gone for Corbin.)

(Since writing this line, we have heard another report, that Samuels is elected by a majority of 6.)

(Latest.—We have just heard, and it seems to come direct, that the High Sheriff of Caroline has written to a gentleman in this City, (his brother-in-law,) that he had given the casting vote in favor of Samuels.)

**Petersburg.**—No opposition to Judge May (W.)

**Fairfax.**—Sangster (D.) elected by an increased majority in the county.

**Surry.**—Dr. Dawson Warren\* 100—Capt. W. Dillard 81—both Democrats.—(For Senate, A. Atkinson (D.) 130—no opposition.)

**Albemarle.**—Southall & Coles (W.) are said to be elected over Randolph and Gordon (D.) by a present majority of about 200—but the returns not complete.

**Fluvanna.**—Barret G. Payne, late Conservative Delegate, 249—Jennings (D.) 58.

**Spottsylvania.**—Oscar M. Crutchfield, late Conservative, said to be elected by a greatly reduced majority—between 30 and 40.

**King George.**—Edward T. Tayloe (W.) re-elected—Tayloe 169, James M. Smith (D.) 136.

**Stafford.**—Dr. Fitzhugh (D.) re-elected by a reported majority of 14.—"The Whigs voted upon shares in factories, the shareholders in corporate bodies exercising a right which perhaps the corporation could not legally exercise, but which clearly does not belong to individual corporators."

**Chesterfield.**—James H. Cox (D.) re-elected without serious opposition.

**King & Queen.**—Davis\* (D.) elected.

**Amelia.**—J. F. Wylie\* (D.) elected.

**Nottoway.**—The F. Intelligencer says, "Booth (W.) is elected by 2 votes."

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

"LOUISA COURT-HOUSE, April 24th, 1840.  
"Yesterday we had much noise and confusion at this place. The Whigs supposed that they enjoyed a little brief authority. They drank whiskey in great abundance, and hallooed for their candidate loudly. Such a scene of disorder had not been experienced at Louisa Courthouse for years. They had put in requisition

their whole strength, which principally consisted in false reports and perverted facts. The contemptible attempt of instruction was brought to bear upon the Republican candidate, and every other plausible falsehood which their fertile ingenuity could invent. Not finding in his conduct a sufficiency of means to gratify their malignancy, they endeavored to pierce him through the sides of the President of the United States, who had been represented as every thing but a Patriot and a gentleman; extravagant beyond any of his predecessors, and more anxious for power than Cromwell or Bonaparte! The money raised to compensate the poor soldier, who had defended his country, is attributed to the President as extravagance. The purchases of Indian lands, and the expense of removing the Indians West of the Mississippi, together with the expense of the Florida war—even the ten million of dollars, conditionally voted for the defence of our Northern frontier, not a cent of which has been used, together with the sinecure of some thousands of dollars, given by the Whigs and Conservatives to Allen, the late Printer to Congress and Editor of the Madisonian, are laid at the door of the President. The Independent Treasury is dressed up in all the deformity of a raw-head-and-bloody-bones, to alarm the people, and the constitutional recommendation of organising and disciplining the militia is presented to them as a Standing Army of 200,000 troops. The power obtained by such means is of short duration: as soon as the deceiver is discovered, his deception loses its power, and he is forsaken and despised by those whom he has deluded. They have for general distribution a little Yankee history of General Harrison; and, to shew his humility, they represent him on the first page as a decently dressed ostler, holding a gentleman's horse by the bridle with his left hand, having his hat in his right; and what is truly singular, the horse holds up one foot in such a position, that the heads of the nails may be seen at the bottom of the shoe, whilst the General keeps perfectly dark as to his sentiments on Abolitionism. The votes stand thus:

	Lipsecomb.	Melton.
Court-house	168	208
Garret's	38	56
Mechanicksville	17	69
Jackson's	175	50

	398	383
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Majority	15
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	PRINCE GEORGE.	
	Courthouse.	Brandon Church.

H. G. Heath (Ad.)	95	54
Col. R. Heath (W.)	8	24

	87	30
	30	—

Democratic maj.	117	
A. Atkinson (Senate)	95	48

(From Dinwiddie, April 24.)  
"We have again succeeded in Demolishing Whiggism in this county. Vaughan has beat his opponent, Capt. Whitworth, at the C. H. 12 votes, at Darville's Precinct 22, making his majority 34. Seven hundred votes polled, which is the largest vote ever given in this county, even upon a three days' election. Mr. Vaughan came out before the people the uncompromising friend of Van Buren, stating why and wherefore we should rally upon him, and urged his objections to Wm. H. Harrison, the avowed Federalist of the reign of terror, and the one who had advocated the passage of a law in the Legislature of Ohio selling the white man for the payment of his debts. We will, I have no doubt, carry this county in the fall by an overwhelming majority for Van Buren.

**Items of News.**  
CONGRESS.—No important measure adopted since our last—but talk, talk! in the H. of R.! Tuesday night the House sat till 11—Wednesday till 9—Thursday, adjourned at sun down—but no question taken on the civil and diplomatic Appropriation bill. There was an electioneering debate, on matters and things in general. The Whigs are wasting the public time and treasure, for the purpose of throwing out speeches and making capital for the election. It was expected, that the Democrats would sit them out last night, and get through the bill. They have passed only two Appropriation bills yet, during the whole session, viz: the bill to pay their noble selves, and the pension bill. Congress Hall has again been disgraced by one of those scenes which cast a blot upon the country itself.—A quarrel and a fight! on the floor of the H. of R. between Garland of Louisiana and Bynum of N. Carolina, about some handbill which had been got up by an "Executive Committee" of a secret cabal at Washington, for the purpose of being sown broadcast in Virginia, and influencing, as Mr. Wise confesses, our late election. The two combatants had been turned over to a Committee of Investigation—and an example ought now to be made, which shall prevent all repetitions of this outrage upon the public morals.